1: Karsten--103 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
278, 462, 791 (1928-29)

"To the rule that clay vessels shall be made by the women there is, as far as I know, only one exception: the cooking-pots in which the arrow-poison is boiled must be made by the poison-cook himself, who is a kind of medicine-man. The same holds true of the small pots in which the prepared arrow-poison is kept. As we shall see later on, no woman is allowed to come into any contact with the arrow-poison or the 'sacred' vessels used for its preparation."

1: Karsten--225 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
791 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros moreover practise the following custom for the same purpose. [JKM: to facilitate delivery at childbirth] A medicine-man is called in; he takes a hen's egg, blows upon it and mutters a special conjuration over it, holding it close to his mouth; thereupon he breaks the egg allowing its contents to pour directly into the mouth of the pregnant woman who, sitting on a bench, has to swallow it raw without touching it with her hands. The idea is that the woman will now be delivered of her foetus as easily as the hen is delivered of its egg."

1: Karsten--399 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 754 (1928-29)

"From what has been stated about the medicine-men in the previous pages, for instance in connection with the demons appearing in the shape of wild animals, birds, and reptiles, we may conclude that they form a class of extraordinary importance in the Jibaro community. Among the Jibaros, as among the Canelos Indians, the medicine-man is the physician of the community, not a priest. His chief bussiness [sic] is to kill or harm other people--his own enemies or those of his tribe--with sorcery, and to cure evils sent by enemy sorcerers. He is not particularly a 'weather-doctor', i.e. a man that professes to influence the weather for good or evil. Although magical practices of this kind occur among the Jibaros, they can be performed by any member of the community and do not form part of the special functions of the medicine-men. Nor do they concern themselves with such ceremonies as are of a marked religious character, as for instance the rites and incantations performed in honour of Nungüi and her husband Shakaĕma for agriculture. Divination consisting of drinking the narcotics natéma or maikoa is continually practised by the medicine-men, but chiefly in connection with their medical treatment."

1: Karsten--399-400 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 754 (1928-29)

"I frequently use the expression 'medicine-man and sorcerer', indicating thereby that these conceptions are not exactly synonymous. A medicine-man is certainly always a sorcerer, but a sorcerer need not necessarily be a professional medicine-man. Thus old warriors and chiefs are generally more or less initiated in the magic art; in fact, they [400] fight their enemies not only with their natural weapons but also with their magical 'arrows' (tunchi). Yet they do not exercise the art of sorcery professionally and are seldom seen curing persons bewitched by other sorcerers. In this account I shall as a rule use the words 'sorcerer' or 'wizard' with reference to black or nefarious magic, whereas 'medicine-man' is a general appellation for a person practising the magic art. The Jibaros have only one word for denoting a medicine-man or sorcerer; wishinyu."

1; Karsten--400-403 (1916-18) 1935 · Jivaro-1
116, 791 (1928-29)

"To become a medicine-man among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians is not quite an easy thing; both ascetic practices and real studies are required of the man aiming at this title and rank. Among the Jibaros a would-be medicine-man is initiated in the following way. He approaches some old medicine-man who will give him the tunchi as well as the instruction necessary for the exercise of his profession. The medicine-man squirts into his mouth, direct from his own, a small chonta thorn with a little saliva and some juice of tobacco, muttering an incantation. The novice has now received the 'poison' which will in due time enable him to act as a sorcerer. The mysterious bewitching matter will spread all over his body with the blood, permeating his whole being, and there will always be something of it in his mouth to be used whenever he likes. In order to become effective in the possession of the new medicine-man the poison must however properly 'ripen'. This among the Jibaros generally seems to take place in the course of six months, but may sometimes require a period of two years. The poison is ripe when the new medicine-man proves able to bewitch a person with his tunchi. The time of preparation is extremely critical for him. The 'poison' permeating his body, instead of ripening and becoming an effective weapon against his enemies, may under unfavourable circumstances cause his own destruction. This will happen unless, during the critical time, he fasts strictly and closely observes other rules of conduct imposed upon him. During the first five days after he has received the tunchi

from the old medicine-man he only eats boiled green plantain mashed in water, strictly abstaining from drinking even manioc-beer (nihamánchi), the daily drink of the Indians. Instead of that he takes juice of tobacco in great quantities both through the mouth and the nose. He also drinks the narcotic natéma every evening in order to see the demons who will help him to become a medicine-man. In narcotic dream he goes to the bank of the river and summons the anaconda demon, pangi and his 'brother', tsúngi; they rise from the river, [401]speak to him as friends, and give him the tunchi. As pointed out before, it is in these water monsters that witchcraft has its ultimate origin; they are also the first demons invoked by the medicine-men when illnesses, caused by witchcraft, have to be cured.

When the five days have elapsed, the novice cuts his hair short and takes a ceremonial bath in a waterfall in the forest. During the following months, or until the poison has properly 'ripened', he has to observe the following rules in regard to his mode of life: --His food chiefly consists of boiled green plantains, mashed in water. When eating he takes care not to touch the food with his fingers but eats with the aid of small wooden sticks or splinters. The future medicine-man drinks beer made of bananas and a root called sangu, but not the ordinary manioc-beer. He carefully abstains from eating the flesh of swine or hens, that is, the flesh of the most important domestic animals. Pork is particularly believed to have a harmful influence upon the medicine-man's health and

his power as a sorcerer. He shuns it to such extent that if it is boiled in the same house where he lives he avoids even inhaling the vapours rising from the boiling pot. He also abstains from eating the flesh of the wild boar because of its resemblance to the domestic swine. An animal always religiously shun by the medicine-men, even by those properly initiated, is the armadillo (shushúi). They not only abstain from eating its flesh but even avoid seeing it. If a medicine-man happens to encounter an armadillo, he at once closes his nostrils with his fingers or with a cloth in order not to inhale the musty smell which this animal emits, and he moreover takes tobacco water to paralyse the evil influences arising from it. The tunchi which he has inside and which is conceived of as a living demoniacal being may 'get frightened' and 'retire' with the result that the medicine-man himself may die. The same may happen if the novice eats swine's flesh or some other unsuitable food. As to fish, he can only eat sardines (chumakai) and other smaller fishes which are not caught with varvasco poison but with hooks. To come in contact with fish caught with varvasco would have the same evil consequences as eating the armadillo: the tunchi might 'retire' and cause the medicine-man's death. In regard to the larger of the fishes that he is allowed to eat he takes care not to eat the head of the fish lest it should do him harm. He moreover observes certain other curious dietary regulations. Thus he is recommended to eat the flesh of the paca (Coelogenys paca, called káshai), because the medicine-men frequently use the whiskers

of this demoniacal animal [402] when bewitching people. Of monkeys he only eats two, namely, the common night-monkey, uhúkuma, 'because a medicine-man has to operate in darkness as does the night-monkey;' and the capuchin-monkey, tsiri, 'because it is very clever and quick in its movements', as a medicine-man also ought to be. Of fish, in addition to those mentioned before, he eats a kind of small sheat-fish, called nukumbi, because of its pointed dorsal spines which resemble the small spines which a sorcerer makes use of when bewitching people; as well as another kind of fish called yutui which is likewise provided with small sharp spines. He eats wasps because of their poisonous stings, and small chonta thorns which grow on the demoniacal chonta palm. Both the stings of the wasps and the chonta thorns are used as magical 'arrows' by the sorcerers. Again he eats a kind of sucking-fish, called nayúmbi, which are found on stony bottoms in the rivers where they fix themselves to the stones with their mouths: in this way, it is thought, the medicine-man has to act in 'sucking out' the evil from a patient's body. Of birds he is particularly recommended to eat the woodpecker, tatashama, which taps the stems of the trees and listens attentively for the worms within them: exactly in the same way the medicine-man has to proceed when trying to find out where about the evil is in the patient's body and to draw it out.

Beside these rules of diet, the future medicine-man has strictly to observe sexual abstinence. Not only is he himself forbidden to have intercourse with a woman; no

married couple can live in the same house as he, and his food can only be prepared and given him by an unmarried woman or man. A would-be medicine-man cannot marry until his novitiate ends.

If the novice breaks the rules mentioned the consequences will be fatal for him. The bewitching poison which he has taken into his body will not grow ripe and make him a medicine-man, but on the contrary may cause his death.

During the whole time of preparation the novice also receives all sorts of instructions from his master, the old sorcerer who gave him the tunchi. These instructions concern details of the art of sorcery, how to acquire the power over spirits and demons necessary for bewitching people or for curing persons bewitched by other sorcerers, what kind of conjurations are to be sung on different occasions, what remedies are to be used, and so forth. Knowledge of these things belongs to the occult science of the medicine-men which makes of them a [403] professional class of 'knowing persons', but is withheld from common people. A medicine-man or sorcerer is called wishinyu, the stem-word of which is probably we (wi) 'I', 'I myself', corresponding to the fact that a medicine-man always begins his conjurations by repeatedly pronouncing the word we ('I, I myself conjure thee, demon').

The newly initiated medicine-man pays his master for his services with some object of value, a blowgun and arrow-poison, a good hunting dog, an itipi or loin-cloth, etc.

The mysterious magic arrow which the medicine-man aims at his victims is, as we have seen, called túnchi. Another name for the same thing, nearly as commonly used, is tsinsáka, which means 'arrow'--the thin stick of palm wood used for the blowguns. --There is in fact a close parallelism between the poisoned arrow of the Indian hunter which kills the game by inflicting an insignificant wound, and the invisible magic arrow of the sorcerer which suddenly hits the victim, causing mysterious pains and a speedy death. The prototype for both, as already pointed out, is probably the death-bringing sting of the venomous snakes. In fact, the wizard in his operation behaves like a venomous snake ready for action. He is supposed to carry the poison in his mouth like the snake; when he shoots his 'arrow' he whistles and hisses, just as does the angry snake before it directs its death-bringing fang at its victim.

The bewitching 'arrow' (tunchi or tsinsáka) of a medicine-man can, however, assume different forms: it may not only be like an ordinary small arrow of the kind used for the blowguns, but also, and more frequently, appears in the shape of a chonta thorn, a small stone or pebble, a hair or tooth of some demoniacal animal, the sting of a wasp, a worm, and so forth, which the medicine-man, in some way known to him alone, draws from his own body and throws at his victim."

1: Karsten--403-404 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 791 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS the initiation of the medicine-man is much the same as among the Jibaros, although the regulations regarding the mode of life that the novice has to observe are less detailed. The Canelos Indians being now Christians in name, the sorcerers have not amongst them the same social importance as among the wild Jibaros; in fact, they exercise their profession only in secret. A would-be medicine-man receives his 'arrow' in the same way as among the Jibaros, from the mouth of an old medicine-man. Since in most cases it consists of a small chonta thorn it is simply called chunta. To bewitch another person by means of a chonta thorn is called chuntáta shitána, 'to throw the chonta', [404] whereas a sorcerer is called chunta shitac runa, 'a chonta-throwing man'. Afterwards the poison which the novice has received must 'ripen' in order to become effetive, [sic] and this, among the Canelos Indians, is said to take two to four years. Meanwhile the novice has to fast strictly, his food consisting chiefly of boiled green plantain, mashed in water. He is forbidden to drink any kind of chicha or asua (beer made of manioc or other fruit). Of fish he only eats the small fish called chuti, but not the head, merely the hinder part of the fish. He takes tobacco water in great quantities through the mouth and the nose, and every evening drinks aya huasca (=natéma of the Jibaros). This restricted diet, and especially the drinking of the aya huasca and the tobacco water, will help him to come into intimate contact with

the demons--especially with the amárun supai, the anaconda--who will initiate him into the magic art. The novice pays his master for the chunta and the instructions received with a blowgun, a costly feather crown (tahuasámba), a dog, a shirt, or other objects of value."

"Although the medicine-men are not distinguished from other members of the community by a particular dress, yet they form an easily recognizeable class of people even in their outward appearance. A Jibaro or a Canelos medicine-man is reserved and taciturn, his eyes are dull and, as it were, veiled, a natural consequence, no doubt, of his permanent habit of drinking natéma (aya huasca) and other narcotics. His gloomy looks are rendered still gloomier by the black face-painting, his cheeks and the regions round his eyes being generally stained with sua (genipa). The small bag (wambáchi), usually worn by the Jibaros, has a special importance attached to it as far as the medicine-men are concerned: it contains their namúra, i. e. certain small stones, teeth or hairs of certain demoniacal animals, or other magical objects. The Jibaros, as we have seen, ascribe supernatural properties to stones of peculiar colour and shape. Among the namúra there are black, red, and white stones, but the last mentioned, the kaya wincha, 'brilliant stones' or crystals, are the most important owing to the magical power they are believed to possess. Such small white stones are found with all medicine-men and they are regarded as absolutely indispensable. But if one asks one of them how he got these stones, or where such are to be found, one will get no satisfactory answer. The medicine-men always profess to have seen and taken hold of them in a dream, when intoxicated by the narcotic natéma the demons themselves have discovered them. Unless he possesses them the 'docto', when about to cure

a [405] patient, will not get intoxicated (nambikma) after drinking natéma, and consequently will not have 'good dreams' and see the origin of the evil, that is, the wicked sorcerer who sent the tunchi. How the medicine-men use their namúra when curing sick persons, we shall see later on."

1: Karsten--406-407 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"As we have seen, the function of the medicine-man includes, on the one hand, the infliction of evils upon other people by witchcraft, on the other hand, the curing of people bewitched by other sorcerers.

First we shall examine how the medicine-man proceeds when bewitching his enemies.

To throw the magic arrow or bewitch another person is among the JIBAROS called waweátinyu (the inf. form; 3 pers. sing. wawéama).

When a wishinyu or medicine-man wants to bewitch another Indian he prepares himself for the operation by fasting for five days. During these days he contents himself with the same scanty food as was prescribed for him at the time of initiation, eating only some boiled green plantains, mashed in water. He abstains from drinking manioc-beer, but repeatedly takes tobacco water through the nose, the leaves of the plant being boiled in a small clay pot partly filled with water. Every evening he drinks the narcotic natéma in order to see the spirits and be instructed by them in regard to the kind of 'arrow' he ought to use and other particulars. The action always takes place in the dark, when the demons move about. When ready to shoot his tunchi, the sorcerer takes tobacco water, coughs and hawks up something which he seizes with his fingers, mutters a sort of conjuration, addressed to the arrow, whistles, and makes a peculiar movement with his finger. The name of the Indian to be bewitched must be mentioned in the conjuration. Supposing that his name is Andiche, the medicine-man addresses the tunchi in the

following words:

Amuesha, tsinsáka,
Andiche numba umárta,
namánkisha yuota
kuránta matinyu. [407]

that is:

'You arrow,
may you drink the blood of Andiche
and eat his flesh,
so that he may die quickly!'

The wizard subsequently shoots the arrow with a blowing movement. He may be quite near his victim, or he may hit him at a considerable distance. Thus a person may be bewitched while he sits quietly in his house in the evening, conversing with other people. The hostile sorcerer steals to the house, covered by the darkness, and shoots his invisible arrow through a crack in the wall. At the same moment the victim inside the house will feel an acute pain in the chest, give a start and say to his comrades: 'I feel ill, something has happened to me, I must have been bewitched'. The wizard, having accomplished his deed, sneaks away."

1: Karsten--407 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, when a sorcerer wants to discharge his 'chonta' at an enemy, he fasts for two days previously, eating only green plantains and taking tobacco water in repeated doses. Every evening he drinks aya huasca in order to communicate with the demons. Sorcery is practised at night. The wizard secures a black wasp with a poisonous sting, fixes three small chonta thorns to its abdomen, and sends it off with the following formula: 'Chai runáta yaicugri; cutin tigramúngi; chapashámi chishi; allita mikushca shamúngi, nyúca nishcáta pactachispa. i. e. 'May you enter into that man (the name of the Indian is mentioned); may you return later on; I will wait for you at night; having nicely eaten his flesh may you return after executing my order'.

The invisible arrow of the sorcerer is supposed to enter into the victim through his throat or his chest, just as if he were hit by a real arrow. If a medicine-man is not able to extract the arrow, he will grow worse and worse and die within a few days. The demon, having left the 'arrow' in the patient's body, returns to his master."

"Frequently, however, the sorcerer hits his victim while the latter is far away in another village or part of the country. In such cases he does not generally shoot his arrow at him directly but through the mediation of some demoniacal animal, bird, reptile, or insect. The latter are, among the JIBAROS, called tunchima or 'bewitched'. A medicine-man may thus hide his tunchi or his own demoniacal soul in a jaguar, [408] a nocturnal bird, a venomous snake, or a poisonous insect like a wasp or a scorpion. These creatures he sends away, with the usual formula of conjuration, to distant places where they will encounter his intended victim. Birds are, by their flight, believed to be especially able to carry the tunchi far away, but the success with which a medicine-man is able to use such agents of the animal world naturally always depends on his own skill and experience. The very fact that for instance a jaguar or a venomous snake assumes an aggressive attitude towards man, killing or harming him, is regarded as a sufficient proof that the beast or reptile is tunchima, i. e. has been sent by an enemy wizard.

The following instance may illustrate the Indian idea of 'bewitched' or demoniacal animals. A wife of the Jibaro sorcerer Shakaëma on the Rio Upano one day went out to fetch manioc from the plantations. While she was engaged in the work she noticed a black vulture which came flying towards her from the north in such a way that it at once attracted her attention. The vulture alighted on the ground at a little distance from the

woman, looking at her. At the same moment she felt an acute pain in the chest, as if she had been hit by an invisible arrow. She got frightened and was at once seized with the suspicion that she had been bewitched. She tried to chase away the fatal bird with her machete, but it only flew a short distance and alighted again, steadily looking at her. The pain in the chest increased. The woman hurriedly returned home and told her people what had happened to her. A medicine-man drank natéma in order to find out the nature and origin of the evil. He declared that the woman had been bewitched by the vulture, which was tunchima. The bird had been sent by a sorcerer among the Jibaros who live in the north on the Rio Copotaza, a hostile tribe against whom Shakaëma had made war some time before. All attempts to cure the woman proved futile. Her condition grew worse and worse, and a few days later she died."

"Self-suggestion plays an important part in the Indian and must be taken into account if we are to understand the psychology of witchcraft. As soon as he has, for one reason or another, decided that he has been bewitched in a way beyond cure and that his last hour has arrived, he generally dies in spite of any treatment.

However the sorcerer proceeds, he seldom contents himself with shooting one single 'arrow' at an enemy whom he wants to kill. As soon as the victim has been hit once, his relatives generally call in a medicine-man who may be able to extract the tunchi in time and thus save [409] the patient's life. The hostile sorcerer is therefore anxious to repeat his operation several times, shooting one 'arrow' after the other to be surer of the desired result. His aim is to fill the enemy's body with so many tsinsakas that the curing medicine-man is not able to extract them all, in which case the patient is bound to die.

The methods described above are, perhaps, those most commonly practised by the medicine-men. But there are many more also. The more experienced a sorcerer is, the cleverer he is in finding out new and ingenious ways of carrying out his evil designs against his tribesmen. Thus a sorcerer frequently bewitches his secret enemies while staying in their house on a visit, or while receiving them as guests, during a seemingly friendly conversation. The tunchi must then be let off secretly, without gestures and invocations attracting attention. A clever sorcerer is, for instance, supposed to be able

to bewitch a person through an apparently involuntary and accidental touch with the hand or by hiding the tunchi somewhere in the house, or in the food or drink offered the guest. It may also be hidden in the forest, in the foliage of a tree or bush. The 'arrow' is enveloped in leaves, possibly also with certain magical 'medicines', and the small bundle is hung up by the path where the intended victim is expected to pass. Sometimes the Indians, when wandering in the forest, believe they discover by smell the presence of such charmed bundles, hidden by enemy sorcerers. For the same reason the Jibaros,when putting foot on any strange ground or passing by houses inhabited by professed enemies, walk with great caution lest they should suddenly be hit by such hidden 'arrows'. When they arrive at a place in the forest where they intend to pass the night, and where provisional huts of palm leaves have been erected by previous Indian travellers, they never sleep in such huts without changing the roofing, removing the old palm leaves and putting on new ones. The hut may have been previously occupied by a sorcerer who has perhaps left his tunchi hidden among the leaves in order to harm the Indians afterwards sleeping there. Such tricks are often played by Jibaro sorcerers even without reference to pronounced and known enemies. Some of them simply take pleasure in doing harm to other people, be they declared enemies or not."

'Quite commonly sorcery is performed through the eyes. The Jibaros believe in the 'evil eye' (tuna hi), an experienced sorcerer being credited with the power of sending the tunchi not only from his mouth, but also from his eyes. The eye to the Indians is the 'mirror [410] of the soul' in the most real sense of the word.(1) Since it is from the medicine-man's soul that his magic poison comes, we can understand how he is believed to be able to send his tunchi merely by a penetrating look. The effectiveness of the evil eye is increased by the red face-painting. The Jibaro Indian seldom enters a strange house without having the face painted red, the painting being both a protection for himself against the treacherous 'arrow' of his host and a means of eking out the effectiveness of his own occult powers. A red dye often used in similar cases is the one called múspa, composed of the red seeds of the Bixa orellana and the dried and pounded leaves of the plant simaika. The cheeks and especially the parts round the eyes are painted with this bright red dye before entering, with a view to increasing the magical power of the visitor's look. This kind of face-painting is said to act particularly as a love charm, the visiting Indian being thus able to attract and entice the women when they

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"1. In the Jibaro language the word for 'eye' (hi) is the same as the word for 'fire'."

step forth and offer manioc-beer to the guest. Generally, however, the evil look of the sorcerer entails illness and death for the person on whom it falls."

l; Karsten--410-411 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-l
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"The 'evil eye' operates in different ways. Thus the Jibaro sorcerers commonly avail themselves of apparently insignificant wounds and send their arrow into the victim merely by looking at him. A small wound accidentally caused by a knife, for instance, may thus at first be looked upon as only a 'natural' wound. But should the wound not heal within a few days in a normal way, should it, on the contrary, get infected, begin to ache, and cause the swelling of the whole limb, the medicine-men will in most cases declare that these unexpected complications have been brought about by the evil eye of a sorcerer. The following case may illustrate the Indian ideas on this point. A son of the great Jibaro chief Nayapi at Puyo was once brought to me to be cured of a mysterious illness. He showed a small wound on the groin, the origin of which the Indians could not explain and which, in spite of a prolonged treatment by different medicine-men, would not heal. On the contrary, the patient grew worse; some internal disease, accompanied by a swelling of the stomach, set in, and after some days of suffering the young man died. A medicine-man, having drunk the narcotic natéma, gave the following declaration as to the nature of the illness:--the small wound in the groin would not by itself have caused death;[411]but some enemy sorcerer had looked upon it with an evil eye and sent his tunchi into it. The 'arrow' had taken the form of a small boa serpent which had penetrated from the groin into the venter where it had grown, causing the swelling of the stomach and ultimately the patient's death. In cases of snake-bite

the same explanation is not seldom adhered to. There are, as we have seen, 'natural' snakes and snakes that are tunchima, 'bewitched'. The bite of the former does no particular harm to the person bitten, whereas the bite of the latter often ends fatally. Now in many cases where a snake-bite has unfortunate results, leading to the death of the patient or to serious complications, the Indians reason in the following way: the bite itself would not have caused death; but some malicious person had happened to look at the wound with an evil eye and thus caused the catastrophe. Hence when, among the Jibaros, some one is bitten by a snake, precautions are taken that no suspected person should get an opportunity to see the patient. In fact he is immediately taken to the forest where the medicine-man stays with him alone whilst curing him."

l: Karsten--411
116, 754, 791

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"A sorcerer may operate all by himself, or he may cooperate with an iguánchi. These demons not only send disease in the way described before, but also shoot with magic arrows like the human sorcerers, and they do it in a more skilled way than the latter. When a sorcerer cooperates with an iguánchi, therefore, there is no remedy for the victim. The demon will deliberately shoot arrow after arrow at him so quickly that no medicine-man is able to extract them, and the patient is certain to die."

l; Karsten--411-412 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Of the different kinds of magical 'arrows' used by the sorcerers some are regarded as more effective than others. The most dangerous tunchi consist of crystals and bright stones known under the name of kaya wincha, and of which the sorcerers make frequent use when bewitching people. If the victim is hit on the head by such a stone he is supposed to be doomed to certain death; few medicine-men are able to cure such patients. In accordance with this idea such bright stones are almost universally found among the namúra or magical objects of the medicine-men.

When used against a white man the tunchi as a rule is supposed to have no effect whatever. White people are immune against the sorcery of the Indians. There is, the Jibaros say, only one way of charming an apáchi or white man, namely, by shooting at him with an 'arrow' made of a hen's bone (atáshi kúnchi). This idea is, no doubt, connected [412] with the fact that the hens were originally introduced among the Indians by the whites."

1: Karsten--412 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 754, 791 (1928-29)

"Women and children are most liable to sorcery, and a wizard, when desiring to harm an enemy family or tribe, therefore prefers to attack these weaker members of the community. Small children are, on account of their delicacy, especially exposed both to the evil witchcraft of Indian sorcerers and to 'disease'. The Jibaros consequently very unwillingly show their babes to strangers and never take them to the houses of Indians whom they do not know well or with whom they do not stand on a perfectly friendly footing. It may happen that in the strange house some malicious Indian sorcerer looks upon the child with evil eye in consequence of which it will fall ill and die. A man always has more power of resistance than a woman or child, and the older he grows the more 'hardened' he becomes against evil spirits and witchcraft. Old sorcerers and chiefs--even though they be physically decrepit--are among the Jibaros, as among other Indians, most feared on account of their supposed skill in managing their formidable supernatural weapon, the tunchi."

"Now let us see how the medicine-man proceeds when he has to cure a patient suffering from an evil sent by other sorcerers.

In order to be able to operate with success the medicine-man has to prepare himself in a certain way, the preparation as usual chiefly consisting in fasting. The treatment of the sick person takes place in the evening, after sunset. Only in the morning of the same day can the medicine-man take some food and drink manioc-beer. After noon he eats nothing, but instead of food takes tobacco water in great quantities through the nose. Pork is supposed to be particularly harmful to him, and he carefully avoids not only eating but even smelling it. If he eats pork before the operation he will awake sick the following morning. In the evening the medicine-man has to drink natéma which has meanwhile been prepared in the patient's house. A pot containing pieces of the crushed stem of the liana Banisteria caapi as well as of another liana called iáhi has been boiling the whole day on a slow fire, so that the main part of the water has gradually evaporated, only a small but exceedingly concentrated quantity being left. This is the natéma medicine.

As soon as darkness sets in, the medicine-man goes to the house of the patient taking with him the magical bag containing his namúra as well as a bundle of certain magical leaves called shingi-shingu, which he makes use of when treating the patient. His face is generally painted black with genipa. Tobacco water has previously been prepared in

a pot by boiling the leaves, and a large pininga (clay dish) is now filled with this decoction. As soon as everything is ready all lights and fires in the house are put out, for the medicine-man must operate in complete darkness. He begins his treatment by taking the pininga with the tobacco water and chanting over it a long conjuration. The spirit of tobacco (tsangu maso mari) is summoned to take possession [414] of the medicine-man and to help him to find out the origin and nature of the evil troubling the patient. The invocation being finished he drinks some tobacco water, without emptying the dish. Thereupon he fills a small cup with natéma and empties its contents at a draught. Then the doctor leans over the patient who has been stretched out upon a bench in the middle of the house, and starts to sing his conjurations. After a while, during his chants and other actions with the patient, he takes a second dose of natéma, sometimes with some more tobacco water. This is repeated a third, sometimes a fourth time, according as it is found necessary. The principal thing is that the medicine-man gets intoxicated (nambikma), for otherwise he cannot conjure forth the demons and his whole treatment is of no avail. This state of mind, however, must not be provoked suddenly and all at once, but gradually, in order to avoid too violent outbursts of spiritual ecstasy; that is the reason why the medicines are only taken in small doses.

In his conjuration the medicine-man invokes all those demons who are suspected of having sent the evil. Since the sorcerers, when bewitching people, preferably avail

themselves of certain demoniacal agents of the animal world, in which they hide their disease and death-bringing tunchi, we understand why most of the demons invoked are animals, birds, reptiles and even insects. It is a leading principle in the Indian conjurations that the remedy must be sought where the evil has its origin, in other words, that the same spirits that have caused the illness must also be compelled to cure it.

To conjure illnesses caused by sorcery is called tsinságrinyu kantámsama, or kantamára umbuártinyu, 'to cure sickness by singing'. The stem-word for tsinságrinyu is tsinsáka, 'arrow'. Kantámsama (kantamára), again, means 'to conjure by singing'.

The medicine-man sends the conjuring words through his closed hand, holding it over that particular part of the patient's body which is the seat of the evil. The following conjuration is typical:

We, we, we, wa, wa,
'I, I myself (conjure you demons),
ámarú, tunchiru,
the amarun (water boa), possessing the arrow,
tsungiru, tsungiru,
and the tsungi, the tsungi,
aeintsuka, [415]
you that were once men,

tsinserére natimieru,
and whose 'arrows' I have seen when intoxicated by natéma,
tukki tsinságrinyu,
you that are full of arrows;
yawara tsinsagri
the tiger, sending the arrow,
husa, husa, husaru,
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
apu, apupa,
The dolphin, the dolphin,
tsinsagri, tsinsagri
sending arrows, sending arrows,
Kaspa tsinsagri
the ray, sending arrows,
husa, husa, husaru
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
tsangu, tsangu, tsangudu,
Tobacco, tobacco
muku, muku, mukuna.

I am blowing. I am blowing!
avanketná, avanketná.
I will take out the arrow (fixed into your body like a hook),
ayámsatná, ayámsatná
in order that you may get relief!'. --
and so forth.

[416]

The medicine-man always begins his conjurations, of whatever kind they may be, by repeating the word, we, we, 'I, I myself', thus emphasising his own personality and the will power by which he masters the spirit world. Amárun is the Quichua wordfor the great water boa (Eunectes murinus), called pangi in the Jibaro language. In their conjurations and incantations the Jibaros sometimes make use of Quichua words which are, as it were, international among the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The water boa, as we have seen before, is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, and is therefore naturally invoked first. It is the same with his 'brother' tsungi, another water monster of obscure origin but equally important as an author of witchcraft. Other demons of the animal world that frequently send the fatal 'arrow' are the tiger (yavára), the river dolphin (apupa), which is supposed to bewitch people when it emerges to the surface of

the water to breathe, and the ray (kaspa) which emits an 'arrow' with its poisonous death-bringing sting. That the spirit of tobacco (tsangu) is invoked is easy to understand since it is to a great extent by its aid that the medicine-man succeeds in overcoming the evil troubling the patient. --Again, avanketná is the same as avankatukáhei, 'to disengage a fish from the hook', with which it has been caught. In the same way the conjurer will disengage the patient from the arrow which has been fixed into his body. Ayamsatná is the same as ayámsatahei, 'to rest', 'to get relief'.

The spirits just mentioned of course are not the only ones invoked by the Jibaro medicine-men. A number of other demons also figure in their conjurations, most of these being animals, birds, or insects, some even local nature spirits. As to carnivorous beasts, not only the common ounce (Felix onca) but all animals of the feline family--for instance the great black jaguar (soacha), the puma (Felix concolor), and different kinds of tiger cats--may serve as agents of sorcerers and are therefore invoked by the medicine-men. The tsingu-tsangu yawá, is probably only a mythical beast: 'a tiger-like animal which lives in the trees'. Of water monsters, in addition to those already mentioned, the caiman (kanyátsa) and the great water otter (wangánimi) are of special importance. Birds, as we know, frequently carry the 'arrow' and are therefore [417] invoked. Among these the tucan (tsukánga or kuánga), the yellow and the red macaw (yambúna, takúmbi) the mango (chui), and the cock-of-the-rock (sumga)

are the most important. It is a curious fact that most of the animal and bird demons which are thus believed to send disease and invoked by the medicine-men also figure among the arútama, who were originally ancestral spirits. --Insects possessing natural 'arrows' --stings etc, --may also be invoked by the medicine-men. Among these there is a big hairy larva called wambángu which, when caught with the fingers, is able to inflict a stinging pain and is therefore sometimes used by the sorcerers for bewitching purposes. --Again, of nature spirits the demons of the hills are especially invoked (neindya, neindya, winiti)'demons of the hills, may you come (to draw out the arrows you have sent'!) The high hills and cordilleras, as we know, are believed to be inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers.

Apart from the conjuration itself, there are certain interesting operations with the patient to which we must direct attention. I have already mentioned the bundle of leaves called shingishingu, which forms part of the magical equipment of the medicine-man, and which is used as a sort of rattle. The leaves, those of a special plant credited with mysterious properties, terminate in a long point. These points form the most essential part of the whole thing, as far as in them the soul of the plant (wakáni) and its magic power is concentrated. The points are called inéi, i.e. 'tongues', and they are supposed to be identical with the tongue of the sorcerer, who is said to give it this peculiar

pointed form--more or less like a snake's tongue--at the moment when he shoots off his 'arrow' (tunchi) against an enemy. The points of the leaves, therefore, are at the same time identical with the tunchi itself, the mysterious object which it is the medicine-man's task to extract from the [418] body of the patient. These ideas fully explain the importance attached to the shingi-shingu rattle. During his operations the medicine-man from time to time rises and shakes the rattle over the patient and particularly over that part of his body where the evil is, just as if he were fanning him with a fan. This procedure is repeated several times, alternately with other operations. Sometimes the medicine-man interrupts his conjurations to start another treatment. From his magical bag he takes out one of the white stones (kaya wincha), and after having filled his mouth full of tobacco water he puts the stone into his mouth and then rubs the bad spot with it. By this treatment he is supposed to prepare that spot favourably for extracting the tunchi. Then he leans down over it, blows and spits upon it and ultimately, having again filled his mouth with tobacco water, starts to suck it vigorously. After some moments he pretends to extract something from the body and holds up a small object which in the darkness cannot be clearly perceived. 'I have found the arrow', he says to the bystanders, 'it is a chonta thorn', (or a pebble, a worm, the hair of a paca, etc.). 'But this', he generally adds, 'is not the only arrow that there is in his body. There are several of them, but I will gradually draw them all out'.

In this way the medicine-man continues his operations for a long while, often for several hours, alternately chanting his conjurations and invoking the demons, shaking the shingi-shingu rattle, spitting and blowing, rubbing the bad spot with his namúra, etc. He frequently takes tobacco water and also repeatedly drinks a small quantity of natema, thus gradually working himself into a state of ecstasy, so that ultimately he starts to dance round the patient, stamping on the ground and chanting in a loud voice. This is the highest degree of possession, the state in which the medicine-man 'sees' the illness and discovers its causes. About midnight he interrupts his operations for that night, but since there is generally more than one arrow in the patient's body to be extracted, the treatment is in most cases continued for several successive nights.

In the narcotic sleep produced by the natéma and the tobacco water the medicine-man will afterwards find out the ultimate origin of the sickness, the evil sorcerer who has sent the tunchi. The author of the trouble having thus been discovered, the medicine-man may try to send the tunchi back to him, and the relatives of the patient may decide to wreak vengeance upon him. Generally, however, vengeance is not [419] decided upon until one or several deaths through sorcery have taken place within a family."

1: Karsten--419
116, 755, 791

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a medicine-man who cures people bewitched by chunta-throwing sorcerers is called hámbic runa or only hámbic, 'a man curing by medicines', the word hámbic being derived from hambi, 'medicine'. When preparing for his operations, which take place at night, the medicine-man has to fast the same day, taking only tobacco water through the mouth and the nose, just as is customary among the Jibaros. In the evening he takes aya huasca in repeated doses before and during his operations. The latter are of much the same kind as among the Jibaros. However, the demons invoked in the conjurations of the Canelos medicine-men are to some extent different from those of the Jibaros, corresponding to the particular ideas held by the former Indians as to the spirits that send sickness. These spirits have been mentioned before in connection with the religious beliefs of the Canelos Indians. Only the great water serpent, amárun supai, and the tiger, puma supai, hold equal positions in the superstition of both peoples, each of them being also regarded by the Canelos Indians as an incarnation of the soul of a wizard and consequently as an author of witchcraft. The medicine-man moreover, like the wishinyu of the Jibaros, makes use of white stones and other magical objects for curing the patient, as well as of the rattle of leaves, which at Canelos is called ilupánga."

1: Karsten--422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 791, 154, 555 (1928-29)

"That the Indian medicine-men are not conscious impostors but exert their powers in good faith, appears from a close study of their psychology and of their way of operating. They simply share the superstitions prevailing among their people at large, even though they may be said to embody them in a special way. The medicine-men themselves are to a great extent the victims of self-deception and self-suggestion. Among the savage Jibaros, as we have seen, there is considerable danger coupled with this profession. Just as a sorcerer who is suspected of having killed another Indian by witchcraft himself runs the risk of being killed by the enraged relatives of the victim, so a medicine-man, who fails to cure the patient confided to him, is likely to be punished for his lack of skill. If the patient dies instead of recovering, the relatives argue that the doctor has used his skill to his destruction and not to his health, and may accordingly wreak vengeance upon him. That in spite of this danger there are people who voluntarily devote themselves to the medical art and sorcery is due to the power and influence always connected with this profession."

1: Karsten--436-437 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

"When medicine-men drink natéma in order to cure patients and to find out the cause of the illness, the drink is prepared in a somewhat different way. In this case the vines are boiled a whole day on a slow fire and the fluid is allowed to evaporate gradually so that ultimately only a very small but extremely concentrated quantity is left. Some fibres of the splitted stem as well as some leaves of another kind of vine which the Jibaros call iáhi (probably Haemadictyon amazonicum) are put into [437] the pot with the natéma-fibres and boiled. The leaves are handled with a short ceremony. The medicine-man, or the Indian who prepares the drink, first takes four iáhi-leaves and places them between the fingers of his left hand, arranges them in such a way that they form a cross, and puts them into the pot between the natéma-and the iáhi-fibres with the right side down. Thereupon he takes four other iáhi-leaves, arranges them between the fingers of the right hand and puts them in the same way into the pot upon the other leaves. Thus in all eight iáhi-leaves have been added to the natéma- and iáhi-fibres and boiled with them. The iáhi vine, which is specially cultivated by the Jibaros, is also a narcotic and is supposed to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

While the fluid is gradually boiling down, the natéma-and iáhi-fibres are taken out and carefully guarded. The remaining small quantity, a very strong decoction of a brownish-yellow colour and extremely bitter taste, is the natéma-medicine ready prepared.

During the treatment of the patient the medicine-man takes natéma in small but repeated doses in the way described before. As we have seen in addition to natéma, tobacco water is also taken, the effect of both medicines being that the curer becomes gradually intoxicated or even attains a state of ecstasy, during which he enters into communication with the demons who have caused the sickness."

1: Karsten--437-438 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 276, 791 (1928-29)

"The medicine-men of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians not only drink natéma (aya huasca) when they are curing sick persons, but also when they wish to bewitch their own enemies. On these occasions they are in the habit of painting the face, and especially the regions round the eyes, with the red colour obtained from the seeds of the bush Bixa orellana. On the head they wear a feather ornament composed of the red and yellow feathers of the tucan (called tawása, tawasámba). They try to imitate the demons (iguánchi, supai) in their whole appearance, believing that thus they will be able to summon the spirits. The red face-painting is also supposed to protect them against the evil eye and the counter-witchcraft of enemy sorcerers. At the same time they play the peculiar string instrument called tsayandúru and turúmba and the soft tunes of which are believed to please the demons. When the Indian has taken the sacred drink he sits down to play this instrument, by which the coming of the natéma-spirit is hastened. The Indians explained to me the meaning of these arrangements in the following words. 'The demons are adorned in the same way with facial paintings and feather crowns, and when they see us wearing the same ornaments as [438] they use themselves and hear the tunes of the instrument, they are pleased and put in appearance as our friends.' At Canelos the sorcerers also play this instrument when they take huántuc, the second great narcotic of the Indians."